THE

PATRIOT

Resolved.

IN A

LETTER

To an *Addresser*, from his *Friend*; of the *same Sentiments* with himself; concerning the UNION.

The Cause, which I knew not, I searched out. Job. 29. 16.

God speaketh once, yea twice, yet Man perceiveth it not. —— *then he openeth the Ears of Men, and sealeth their Instruction: That he may withdraw Man from his purpose, and hide Pride from Man,* Job. 33. 14. 16, 17.

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The PUBLISHER to the READER.

HAving, *in the Country, got several* Prints *Handsomly writ, on both sides, about the* Union: *The Effect thereof was, That, at first, my* Aversions *still continued; And, thereafter, I became so* Fluctuating, *That, almost, I was Proselyte of the* last Speaker.

The Occasions, which I found in my self, of this Vacillancy, *were, chiefly,*

1. *That I wanted a* Familiar Idea, *for introducing to my* Understanding, *a* New *Thing, of great* Compass: *With any Measure of Distinctness, on either Part.*

For, there can be no fixed Conviction, without Foundation-Principles; *By which, as a* Test, *all the* Superstructure *may be tryed.*

2. *My Informers did not fully satisfie me in this. Since, for the most part, they run out to* Contradicting Horroscopes, *about Trade, Taxes, and such like Matters, that ultimatly resolve into* Fact.

Which must leave any Man, who has not Experience, *or Opportunities of* Tryal, *in Hesitation and a Maze: Till he be cleared therein, or fall on some other* Foot *and* Determining *Ground.*

3. *In the Quest hereof, I wanted a* View; Distinguishing, *in this* Transaction, *what is* Certain, *from what may be* Debated: *And* Ballancing *that which we, surely,* get; *Upon undenyable* Security *of Continuance; With what we* give. *Tho we had no more of* Questionable Interests, *but a* Probable Venture.

This, I take, to be the Solid Rule, *in all Bargains of* Perpetuity. *But, when I began to enter the* Computation, *my* Humour *interrupted it a while. For,*

4. *Severals, who, themselves, had Rooted* Impressions *of the Union, did too keenly* Reflect *on the* Judgments *of others. Tho some of these last, in no* Anti-Protestant *Party or Prejudices; But of Honour, Integrity, and Knowledge; Did,* bona side, *differ.*

Either, upon a diverse Sett of Thoughts; *Or, a* Partial Prospect *of what ought to be* Complexly *Considered.*

Such Irritation, *does, often, excite the* Affections *of* Scots-*Men; rather to* Defend, *than* Change, *their Course: Till, at last,* Reason, *directed by* Providence, *overcome the Rancour. Which was my Case.*

This Letter, Intervening Opportunely, help'd to lead me back to my Road: The rather, that I knew the Writer Zealously Addicted to Monarchy, *Our* Royal Family, *and* Parliamentary *Constitution. Tea, his* Particular Interest *might have tempted him to be Silent, at such a Crise: And, formerly, he was of* my *own Sentiments about the Union; As, now, I am of* his. *Upon* Grounds *which contain several Things* New; *At the least, to* me.

You must not think, that it derogats from the Character of an Honest Man, nay, its his Duty, to follow his Light.

For, tho its Laudable in Politicks, *as well as in* Morality, *not to cede* Inward Conviction, (*while the* Outward *Passive Conduct is bound up in* Authority) *till he be* perswaded in his own Mind: *Yet, after that, he dares not be false to God and Man, the present Age and Posterity; either by* Dissimulation, *or* Counteracting, *in a Matter which concerns our* All.

Nor is it strange, that he saw *it not* sooner. *Since, a* New *Proposition, tho* Mathematical, *may, at* first, *seem Surprizing to one not much Versed in that Science; Which, after it is educed out of its Principles, his* Conscience *must owne to be a Demonstrative Proof. Yea, the very* Light *of the* Sun *it self, does not* Arrive *to the* whole *Globe, at* once. *And the Men, of very great Character, who Buffoened* Collumbus's Reasons, *evident enough in themselves; did (some* sooner, *and some* later) *admire his* Discoveries, *with Success.*

Sir,

Sir,

IN answer to your desire of having my Thoughts about an *incorporating Union*, against which you have addressed; I shall deal with that Impartiality and Openness; whereof, I hope, you have experience.

You know, when we parted last, I was of your Opinion, that, tho an united Parliament might be established as to common Concerns; yet a separate Parliament was necessary for, ruling our proper, and being Guarrantee of Performance in common, Interests.

And I'm so far from being surprized that such an appearance is made against the other Scheme; that, I rather wonder how they are not more numerous. Considering, that the Necessity, Utility, and Security of such a great Change, lyes so hid from *overlie* Views: Yea, and Men of more Penetration may, at first, be *justly Byassed*; and these *Prints* which we had a while ago, were more industriously composed and spread, against an Incorporating Union, than for it.

But now, the *Scene is quite altered*, upon many Accounts: Particularly by the Matter's being better *understood*; and several Concessions and Securities, cleared up in *Parliament*.

My Answer then to your Letter shall be only, the giving you a Progress of what occurred to my self, in attempting to get a true Light in this great Affair: referring the use thereof to your own Convictions in Conscience and Interest.

The first thing that stumbled my former Sett of Thoughts, and led me to a more exact Examination of an Union without a separate Parliament, was the *Chain of Providences* concurring to point thereunto. In the next place; being awakened by that prospect at Home and Abroad; I applyed my self more closly to search out the *Interest* and *Security* thereof. At which last I stuck most, being still fond of a separate Parliament. And you shall see the Result of the whole.

As to the preliminary Consideration, arising from the Events of Providence.

In former Reigns, the *English Parliament* would never, on trusting us with their Interests; go into a Fœderal: nor our *Kings* (foreseeing its Consequences against Arbitrariness) consent to an incorporating Union. Yet now, it falls out that a Queen, Ministry, and Parliament, are at one.

Men might have had *Fears* of so great a Change, or thought that our *Hopes* from it are Imaginary. But there was some *Experiment* of it under an Usurper; at it were to premonstrat what it could produce under lawful Sovereigns.

Hereupon the *Meeting of Estates* declare for it. Foreseeing, that nothing less could secure what they had done; at the least that their Authority (being extraordinary) might at some time, be prerequisite; to the making of so great a Turn.

Yet

Yet still, it was un-attainable: till many *Occurrences*, seemingly, against it, or *little promising* for it, at the respective times; did, *eventually*, *forward it*.

Thus: the *Queen* (a rare Example) did endeavour it. But since that could not suffice: Our *Resolves* against settling an Successor without a Treaty; and Act of *Security* in case it did not take; prepared the way: And the Abortion of a Protestant Establishment with *Limitations* within our selves, did drive in to it. Which fell to *co-incide* with the Change of the *Ministry* and *Parliament* in *England*: And this found us *prepared* by the present *Scots* Parliament, its being *called* expressly to the effect of an Union. As also, that during the Treaty, in which our Commissioners were illimited by a *Vote* here; the very *Victories* that, in common Estimation, might have retarded, did promove it; as encouraging the Ministries *Reputation* for carrying it there: and that, the surprizing Aversions of *some*, did induce the greater Number of others in a *different Interest*, both among our selves and Neighbours, to be the more easie in going into the Measure, *&c.* Are such *betrogeneous Causes* centring in *one* Effect; that all thinking Men must conclude it marvellous.

Yet this were not enough, if our former *Experience*; and present *Crisis*, did not concur to make up an absolute necessity of embracing the only remaining Remedy of our Incumbent and Imminent Disasters. For,

All Methods towards either our *Security* or *Improvement*, by our selves alone; had miscarried for a Tract of Years: Either in the Legislation, or Execution, at *Home*; or want of Protection *Abroad*: Not only before, but likewise after, the late Revolution (as will appear by the instances hereafter adduced) and the *Ballance of Trade* with every place almost, except *England*; is so far against us, that we must be exhausted in a little time of the small Remainders which the last Famine and other Accidents did leave with us. Yea, the very prospect of an approaching *Peace*; did serve to inhaunce our Danger. Because

If on a Demise the Throne be vacant, we want, a *Sovereigns* Power to make the Deed of our Establishment more legal; and her Authority, for keeping Order. Our own *Humors*, by that time, will be made ready *Tinder* for a *Spark* from Abroad, who cannot want; the power of *France*, a Nation of Souldiers having nothing else to do, while our Armies must ly disbanded by Law, and the *English* Fleet may be kept in Harbour by Winds: As also, of the *Male-contents* in *England*; and perhaps of *Ireland*. Which must, certainly, withdraw our Neighbours from the Guarrantee of the *Protestant Interest* in the Continent: At least, infallibly, involve us us in *Civil Wars*; the progress whereof compleats our Ruine: and the *Issue* can not but be most favourable to the more powerful, even tho they should change their King; whom, still, they will *possess* in the event.

And as if a visible *Landskip* were wanting of what we'll have the Witt to seek; or they be necessitat to grant; upon such an Inter-reign, we remaining without a Settlement till then: Behold, on the one hand, impetrat *Addresses*, and confusions of *Mobs*, attempting against the Liberty of *Deliberation*; and projecting either a Chymerical *Separation*, or an impracticable or ruinous

Con-

Conjunction: And on the other hand, who can assure us that a *Prince*, having *Issue*, will be so fond, the Ministry and *Parliament* so constitute, as now? Or, that, they, retaining so many *Officers* in Pay, and veteran *Souldiers* at call; with assistance from Abroad: Especially seing they want not a Claim of *Title*, after all that is said in Confutation thereof: must not, at last, reduce us to such Terms as they *prescribe*? Whereas, now, we treat on an equal, peaceable, Footing. Besides, our Loss by Prohibitions, Seizures, or *Devastations*; interveening before the visionary Conditions, which some divert us with, can be obtain'd.

There is one thing very signal in relation to the *Church*; that, as Prelacy here, would have been *riveted* for ever, if the Treaty had taken effect under King *Ch. 2d.* So every wise Man must foresee, what *Presbytery* can expect at any other Conjuncture than the present; putting together, the Designs of *new*, and Provocation yea Inability, of *old*, Friends, at another Season.

To all which concourse of Providences if we conjoyn, that, beyond Expectation, so great a majority of *Peers*; tho most retrenched in the new Constitution; are, nobly, for it: Men of the greatest *Estates* in Parliament, tho most assaulted with Frights; have gone *into it*: *Commotions* are so far from retarding, that they rather quicken a happy progress in it: And the very *Pamphlets* that most keenly oppugn it, stumble on some such Arguments as are either manifestly *imposing*, or serve best to discover the *main Design* of Projectors, *&c.* It may seem surprizing. And on the other side, it's not strange that there is a great Noise against a great *Change* while, *not understood*; or *misrepresented* to an ignorant and corrupt Countrey; where *Reality* has been, hitherto, so far *covered*, that many *Kiss*, in order to *Thrust under the fifth Rib.*

For, what Disturbances were there against our *Rulers* while projecting to introduce good *Manners* and *Civil Polity* under *K. Ja.* the first and *2d*? What Opposition was made, at first, to the *Reformation* of Religion? Yea, to the late *Revolution*, in dark Corners, where future *Dangers* were thought a present *Dream*?

Just as the *Irish* did rebel against the Law, which altered their *stupid Custom* of tying Draught s to their Horse-tails; and thereby pulling them out. What Treatment had *Coriolanus* at *Rome*; for his Services to the Commons? Or *Aristides*, for his eminent Justice and Goodness, in *Athens*? Yea, was not *Lot* rabbl'd in *Sodom*, *Moses* and *Aaron* by *Corah* and his Company, for the very leading themselves from Slavery to Freedom? And therefore our Patriots (if, otherways, well founded) have rightly concluded with *Nehemiah, shall such Men as we flee*?

Having, thus, digressed, perhaps too far; I return to relate to you, in the next place, what arose to me in considering the *principal Cause*, concerning our *Interest* and its *Safety*, by the present Union.

Wherein I shall; *First*, Tell you the general *Notion* I had of it, by *Simile's* drawn from private Things: For letting in a more distinct Understanding of the publick Scheme; Which being New and Comprehensive, requires a Gradual Method of Knowledge. *Next*, I shall distinguish the several *Interests* contained in it: Differencing what is *fully certain*, from what maybe suspected to beprecarious. And yet shewing, that even, in these last, we have *sufficient Assurance*; without a separate Parliament.

Most

Most of those that are sincerely mistaken about the Union, form a *Wrong Idea* of it: Which occasions their thinking it a quite other Thing than it is, or to stand in a Maze without fixed Clearness.

Let us, then, take the common Allusion, of a Noble *Heiress* in an Antient, tho small, Estate; Surrounded with Dangerous *Neighbours* without; And Consuming by bad *Management* at Home: Who, therefore, Marries to a Wise and Opulent Contiguous Heretor.

The Effect hereof by Law is, That she Unites in *some*, and reserves *greater*, Interests. She retains her *chief Interests* as proper; For her *Heretage*, what is *Personal* (Paraphernals, *&c.*) or specially secured in *Contract*, become *not his*; Yea, she does not lose her *Dignity*: tho, of old, a Man did participate in his Wifes *Honours*, as, still, a Wife partakes in the Mans. Her *Communion* with him is, Comparatively, of *lesser* Concerns; For, his *Jus Mariti* extends only to *Moveables* (for which she hath an Equivalent at Dissolution) and to the chief *Government* (she being the weaker Vessel, and therefore, this, necessary to both their Security) and consequently to the Administration of *common Revenues*, for Exoneration of common Burdens, or laying out the remainder (on a Clause of Conquest) to the common Advantage of both, and their Issue.

In this Constitution, it's true, her *peculiar* Government is Regulate: But, as that was Indispensible, for the Causes above-assigned; So it's *Compensat*, by getting a better Menage at Home, and Protection Abroad; In which also her self is *Concurrent*, and without which, her Family had *Sunk*. And yet, still, the *Security* of her New State is sufficiently Fenced. For, as she cannot, irrevocably, *Gift away* her proper Interests to her Husband; So it's his *own Interest*, to manage aright what is *common*: Yea, even what is called *proper* to his Wife; That being necessary to the *Peace* of *his Bosom*; Nay, those *without Doors* might make Advantage of Discord: Whereas, on the other Hand, a just Conduct tends to the Utility, Safety, and Glory, of *both Families* now Aggrandized into *one*.

But if, by some Judicial Stroak, he become Phrenetick, so as to Infringe the *Substantials* of Matrimony, by Adultery or Desertion: Then she is *free* to make a new Choice. In which, as her Vassals and Tennents will be more *Unanimous*; and, probably, more *Powerful*, by the interveening good Government at Home, Protection Abroad, and Profits reaped by Intercourse with the, better Accommodat, United Barony: So she may expect *GOD* and all *Good Men* to assist her; Yea, even amongst her (Abdicated) *Husbands Dependents*, Abhorring, and, themselves, Threatned by, such a Confounding Precedent of Formidable Tyranny.

But, perhaps, you're desiring, That I should ascend to a Pattern in a *more extended* Society.

Suppose then, (tho indeed the Marital Power is, Comparatively, in many things, greater than that of an United Parliament, as to us who retain separate *Sovereign Courts*, as well as distinct Laws and Property; And likewise are Represented therein) that an Heretor in a *Protestant* Parochin, *exposed* to Highland Incursions of *Papists* or Robbers, who wait for a Stir in the Kingdom; *Retaining* his Property, and peculiar Government in his Family at Home; does enter in *Society* with his Neighbours, for their appointing, by *Majority* of Votes, a common Herd in their

Commonty,

Commonty, a common Watch in the Hills; yea, a common Factor for Selling their Products to the best Avail, and Soliciting Protection from the Government, at farther Distance; And all upon the common Expense. Or, further, if, by Experience, he find his own Incorrigible *Mismanagement*; so that Harpees eat up his Substance within, and Robbers catch even his People who venture abroad; to such Degree, that, in a short time, he must be utterly exhausted: Yea, he is so *fickle*, that none will Unite with him, Communicating to him their Advantages; Unless they have a *Bar* on his Extravagancies, against Abuse of the Trust, or admitting Enemies: Therefore, he, in some *Lucid Interval*, consents, even to be Interdicted to that Majority of his Friends; Being such either in Blood, Neighbourhood, or Religion. Will not his Real *Profit* exceed his Imaginary *Loss*; as the whole does a part? And is he not safe enough, that the *Greater Number* (whatever Freak do take *particular* Persons at Occasions) will observe the Articles of Incorporation: In regard, that, as, in *Right*, they cannot, so, in *Fact*, they *will not*; at once, make themselves *lyable* to Heaven and Earth, for Treacherous Violation, and Ruine their *own particular Interest*; Since the Flourishing of his Estate preserves the *Peace*, and *augments its Contributions* for the common Safety and Improvements? Especially, if he have an able and willing *Friend*, not far off in another District; who, glad of an Opportunity to resent an old Quarrel, apparently, will not miss to assist the Oppressed and his People, against those who had play'd the like Game, formerly, on this new Patron of Liberty himself.

I foresee an Objection rising with you against the *Moral* of this Parable; That Judges can Curb the Violations of private Men: But who can Judge or Execute, when we quit our *Sovereignty*?

I remit the full Answer some Pages hence, after the way to the understanding of it is opened, by your going along with me in my Enquiry. In the mean time, it's a Mistake, that our *Sovereignty* does not stand to all necessary Effects: and the Bond of publick *Faith*, *warranted* by the *particular Interest* of the stronger Side; with the other Party's being *free* on Violation, yea, to have Accession of Strength therethrough: serve *your Ends*, according to the *Nature* of the Thing; at the least, are *sufficient*. Especially seing, in a Bargain or Transaction, it's never rightly stated, by viewing *one Side* only; or without considering, *What if it break up*? So that a Man must *Ballance* Terms on the Foot of Equality; and it's well, if he obtain that, when there is no *Choice* left, but he must do or die.

But you must judge, whether I poysed this Matter aright, in the following Method. Namely, 1. I Ballanced what we *give*, with what we *get*. And the Amount of the first appeared far less, and of the last far greater; than is commonly esteemed. For I see not what we *give*, that's not necessary for our selves: And it is a Vulgar Error, that a Venture of Trade, is the greatest Interest which we *get*: since I think it (notwithstanding of its being very considerable) to be amongst the least. 2. In every particular of what we get, I considered its *Security*. Distinguishing, still, that which is *fully certain*, the *not Interfeering Interests*; from what may be pretended to be in Hazard, as Interfeering. And the *Value* of the first,

the

tho the last were less safe than it is; seemed more than *Adequat* to what we give: And, consequently, a sufficient Reason for entring the Union. 3. On each Hand, I endeavoured to begin at Home, borrowing the first Lights from our *own Constitution*, as more familiar than abstract Reasonings, or *Parallels Abroad*; which, notwithstanding, are intermixed for Illustration, the Experience of Mankind being one of the best Rules in a Matter of this Nature.

I'm difficulted how to *Contract* my Thoughts hereon, within the Bounds of a Letter tolerably Discreet; however, I shall attempt it in the following manner.

In the first place, having removed a Vulgar Error, about what we are to *give*, namely our *Sovereignty*; into which the whole, that's *Perpetual* and *Momentuous*, resolves; for publick *Burdens* are either *less'ned*, or *Temporary*, and even these last compensed by Equivalents, *&c.* I shall, in the next place, Range what we *get*, with its *Securities*; into *Sacred* and Civil *Interests*. And, through the whole, endeavour to shew, that both are *safer* in an United, than a *Separate Parliament*: Yea, this last, tho attainable, would bring on their *Ruine*; comparatively, and in the present Circumstances.

Our *Sovereignty* (taking that Word in it's full Import) is far from being surrendred, or sunk by the Union. For on the contrary, a *main Part* of it remains amongst our Selves; and the *Remainder*, still existing, is only *adjoyned* to *England's*. Tho it happens, for necessary Proportion, that our Members in the united Parliament are out-numbr'd by those assumed; which is most consistent with our Constitution. Because

We're not only to have a *Monarchy*, and that in the next, of the Protestant Line; with a *Parliament* within the Isle: But likewise, our *chief Interests* rest secured under *Sovereign powers*, to remain for ever; on this side the Border; which, being under *Regulation* of an united Parliament, serve the main *Ends* of a *separate Parliament*, better than it ever did or can do; considering Circumstances. For

Private Rights remain lodged with the Session: One of the best constitute Bodies in the World; who have power to make *Acts of Sederunt*; That, (considering, the present Consistency of our Law; and Supplement of the Civil) leaves little or no Necessity of a legislative. The *Publick Peace* will be preserved by the *Justice-Court* and Council: Who also, can appoint *Ordinances* and *Proclamations*; according to emergent Exigences; always consistent with former Statutes. Our *Trade* within our selves may have Regulations, from the *Convention of Burrows*: Which (when they come to understand their true Interest) might make one of the best perpetual Councils of Trade, in being. And our *Church Assemblies* retain the ordering, and last resort, of *Ecclesiastical* Matters: with a better Fence than ever was in this or any other Nation.

So much being retained of the Executive, yea Satutory, Power: There can be no doubt, but the Queen and Parliament, as to the Remainder, have a Faculty to *restrict* its present *Members* (which all this Matter resolves into) So as to unite to a *Majority* of others, who are not *Aliens*: For the necessary Ends of *Safety* and *Improvements*. Even tho an *ordinary Parliament* can not change *Fundamentals*.

For

For, 1. The Meeting of Estates (who had *extraordinary powers* ; the Right of the *virtual Head* being, then, consolidat with *the Body* Representative, chosen, *ex facie rei*, to mould the Government) have predetermined the Case. And 2. The present Parliament being called expresly *to that effect* ; the Nation, in *answer*, did *not limit* their Representative: Nor could they do it *ex post facto, contra jus quæsitum.* 3. It's altogether denyed that the assuming *a Majority* of others, not *Aliens* (as the *English*, born under the same native *Sovereign*, are not) is a *Fundamental.*

Because, what may be, and has actually been, altered, either directly or in consequence ; cannot be Fundamental. But so it is, that in the first place, by the acknowledged Powers of the Queen and present Parliament, she might *make*, and they *receive*, als many new *Peers* and *Burrows* ; as would *out-vote* those who were before. And in the next place, by *Custom* (which declares or makes a Law) through a Tract of Reigns, the Equivalent has obtained. Thus, setting aside the History how the Ecclesiasticks, lesser Barrons, and Royal Burrows, were *brought in upon* the *Principes tribuum, &c.* The first *Royal Burghs*, and *Peers*, have been *sextuplyed* thereafter : The *original* diffusive Body of *Barrons*, restricted to Commissioners less in Number than the other two States: The dignified *Clergy*, before the Reformation, had the Majority of the whole in such Parliaments as were held then ; and, at the Reformation, were thrust out ; by which the Parliament came down to a small Number : Yea the *Bishops*, some time made a third Estate, even after Popery ; were choped and changed at Discretion : And when the Barrons Interest interfeirs with Peers or Burrows, the *Addition* to them, even since the Revolution, may carry the Vote, *&c.* Whence it is impossible that the *possibility* of being out-voted, can be *essential* to our Constitution, either in the *whole*, or any *one* of, the three Estates.

Our Domestick Interests (which are the Main ; tho they *were not made to grow* : But their encrease also will appear hereafter) being thus, *legally secured* : It's a meer Amusement to *object* that the *British* Parliament may abuse its *reserved*, or *assume* an incompetent Power. For, as, some *check* on Arbitrariness, notourly deboarding here, is essential to our *own security* : without moral possibility of the united Parliaments abusing that Faculty ; Because it will not be their *proper Interest* ; Yea, it would be *against it*, in *accidental* Matters of this kind, which, naturally, *cannot interfeir* with any such in *England* : So, the *Substantials* being excepted from their *Power* in the Treaty ; It follows 1. That the thing fear'd is morally impossible both in *Right* and *Fact*. Whereas 2. It's morally *certain* in a *separate Parliament.*

In point of *Right*, the united Parliament *erected by* the Articles, hath no power as to what is made *ours*, by these: not being in the case of a Parliament *originally* constituted without *Limitation* ; which hath the command of simple alterable *Laws*, tho never so well hedged by preceeding Parliaments. Whereas *quoad* the Interests reserved by an *unchangeable Contract*, in a primitive Constitution, its no *Parliament at all, pro tanto* ; but private Men. The same way as, an Heir in a *Tailzied* Estate, differs from him who receives an *Illimited Fee*, from his Predecessor.

In *Fact*: Its not morally possible that they'l deboard here; either as to *Church* or *State*. Because our *Forms* for Civil, yea, or sacred Rights; *interfeer not* with any preponderating Interest in *England*. Whereby, 1. They'l have *no Interest* to invade these. Nay 2. It would be *destructive* to their *owne Interest*. And therefore if Interest be the Rule of a Body whereof the Majority are not mad, this Point is secured, by a *real*, perpetual, *Warrandice* in the *proper Interest of* England *it self*.

Now, as to the *Non-interfeirance* with any such Interest there; at the least *such* as can ballance the Breach: What more are they, living in a *separate District* (which is specially to be noticed) concerned in our *Forms* about our own Rights; than in the *Shape* of our Cloaths? or a *Neighbour*, having Lands in, and Jurisdiction over, the rest of a Parochine; is interrested in the regular, tho peculiar, Management of *anothers Family*, discontiguous; yet, in other respects, under the same Rules with the rest of that Society? Except that our *Justice* and *Peace* tends to the Security and Glory of the common Government.

No Man of Sense can doubt hereof in secular Matters: For none in his Wits can be cruel to his own Flesh. And I assert the same, even in a greater Degree, as to *Ecclesiastick* concerns. At which I intreat you be not surprized till you hear my Reasons; drawn from their *Principles*, *Interest*, yea *Practice*; and *Precedents* elsewhere, in cases more difficult than this. For

These of the Church of *England*, who are for Episcopacy there; must be against it in *Scotland*: Because they value themselves on the *Principle*, That *Force is not to be used for Propagating Religion*: Much less, The *Circumstantials* of it, where there is *no Power to Impose* them. But, so it is, That, seing, the *British* King and Parliament, are to have *no Power* for Altering a Fundamental Establishment, on which themselves stand: Such an Attempt could be nothing, except *meer Force* in Religious Matters. For it's not in the case (and I think you cannot mistake by so gross a Bevieu) of a *Mutable Law*; that they have often procured to be *changed*, both among themselves and their Neighbours; which did not impinge upon their Principles; for it imported no more, than their *perswading Legislators* to what, the one thought right, and was undoubtedly in the others power. Whereas, in the present case; it would be an Excitation to *War*, or rather a *Rabble*. Which is not, to be imagined, in any *valuable Number* of them. Especially considering also, That their common Principles of *Uniformity* extend not to us now: in regard, that, as we *were not*, Originally; so we *are not*, still; within the Borders of their particular Church: tho we become a common State, with that *Negative Quality*. Whereby the Ecclesiastick Maxim, That *in Veste Varietas est, licet in Corpore Unitas sit*, is vastly more strong here; than in a Toleration locally within the Bounds of their Church.

But, suppose some High-Flyers of the Clergy should pervert their own Principles, they can never impetrat *a Majority of the Laity*, to joyn in so extravagant a Measure; about Matters which the *greater part* think *indifferent*; at least, so far as beyond the *Limits* of their Constitute Church; and which, in the Event, must prove *pernicious* to their own more valued Interests. In respect; that, their present Niceness, about our Share in the *Representative*, may put us at Ease, that they'll

not augment it with 14 more at the Princes Disposal. Or, if we feign another Model; then, still, it meets the Case, that *one Pin* taken out of the Fabrick of their *own present Constitution*, makes the whole tumble down to Anarchy. Which the *most of them* must abhor: so long as they dislike a Dissolution of their publick *Government*, *Liberty and Property*. Especially since this Mortal Wound would afoord a *Pretence*, and the *Forces* sent to compesce *Scots* Insurrections, furnish Power; to a Designing Prince, joyned by the *Inraged People* thus injured: for freeing himself of those Legal Bonds, that have been purchast with so much Pains, Blood, and Treasure. Yea, in another View, who can determine the *Final Success*? If the Groaning *Irish*, and menaced *Dissenters* through all the Dominions of *England*, and the *French* then at Liberty, and the *Jacobites* revived; should embrace the Opportunity of a *Founded Cause* (without Legal Rebellion, as it would be in the present Constitution) for a *Desperate Unanimity*. There being very recent Examples of Conjunctions equally strange. Yea, Men otherwise very indifferent, except for *Liberty and Property*, might come to joyn: as seeing *All* at Stake, by the Enormous Precedent against that which was thought the most firmly established.

Shall we imagine the Majority of such an August Body, as will be the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, fallen into a *Phrenzie*, of overturning their *own Security and Peace*; the very Reason for which they sought the Union? *No*. Constant *Experiments*, both in Secular and Ecclesiastick Matters, at *Home* and *Abroad*, confute the *Dream*.

But, before entring upon Examples to clear this, you're still to Reflect, 1. That Instances of Security in *Civil* Matters differing in several Districts, conclude the same in things *Ecclesiastick* of this kind; because the greater part of Men think the *Forms*, which hedge about Religion and Justice, to be of a piece; *so far* as, either they will *submit* to what they would not choise; or, at least, *themselves* having an established *Freedom* of what they think best, can retain no Difficulty to *suffer others* in their *Vicinity*, who differ not in Fundamentals, to enjoy the same Liberty. 2. Some of the Precedents which I adduce, are *Interfeering* or *Uneasy* Interests; and therefore, serve not only, to infer more strongly the Safety of a Neighbouring Church-Establishment (which, I contend, justles not) but likewise will save my pains of Repetition, when we come to consider the *Certainty*, even of those Interests, which, commonly, are thought *least secure*; as Interfeering or being uneasy. 3. No Objection can arise to you in the perusal; that is not easily solved by the *Disparity* of the Security, on our Side; that it's Fundamental to our Neighbours themselves. And *Ireland* is in the Case of a *Property Conquish'd*.

You know then, that, in *England*, they maintain the Form of their own Constitution in *Parliament*; tho very unequal in the Representative of several places. The different Forms of *Courts* and *Laws* among the People already Incorporat with them (as *Durham*, *Man*, *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, *Wales*, *&c.*) remain; without others desiring them to be touched. Such a Religious Care have they of *particular Interests*, that, even a General Good, does not preponderat it; as appears by their prohibiting *Irish* Cattel in favours of Breeders, *&c.* And whatever Attempts have been made on the *Toleration* Act, when the Danger was not understood; it is, now, thought Riveted for ever. But, however that may fall out, they might force the *Iroaquois*,

quois, and other Incorporate *Americans*, to the Christian Religion; more justly (as tending to a greater Good) than us, to their *Forms*. In *Scotland*, tho much more Unstable; our Sovereigns have maintained a *Monarchical Form* of Government in Shires, and an *Aristocratical Model* in Burghs: Which, tho they had justling Interests, and the Majority in Parliament, as to private Concern, stood on the side of Shires; yet Burghs retain their Priviledges to this Day. As also, in the *different Products* of Wooll, Victual, *&c.* in several places of the Kingdom, where, what was done for one, prejudged the others particular Profit; yet the Majority have fallen in with the National Interest, according to the publick Exigencies of Times. There has been no Difficulty in sustaining the *Udal Rights* of *Orkney*, so distinct from the Forms of Property through the rest of the Nation: or *Burgal Laws*, so discrepant from those of the Country about: or even the *French Church*, which hath set Forms not used in ours. *Abroad*: the very *Papists* rest securely under the *Dutch* Civil Government, in which they have no Representative: and the *Protestants* are protected by the *German* Dyet; notwithstanding, that each Colledge hath the Majority of *Roman* Catholicks. The *Cantons* of *Switzerland* are in like Circumstances. The *different States*, tho formerly at Enmity, yet United, with *Spain*, *France*, *Poland*, *&c.* retain their particular Customs; without any Hazard, that's not incident to Despotick Governments. Yea, the mighty *Persian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman Empires*, successively, had no Pain to maintain the *Jewish Church Constitution*; tho it directly condemned the Religion of the Nations: At the same time, that their State was Governed by Deputations.

Thus is cleared our *Positive*; let us now, View, our *Comparative Security*.

Men not at Pains of getting *distinct* Thoughts; will, still, Scruple, when they cannot Answer. Whereof the apparent Reason is, that the Subject, being *remote*, does not so lively touch their Apprehension. But the Cure is, to come to their *Doors*; and, before their Eyes, to lay out the Security, that *is*, or *can* be, in a Separate Parliament. For, any Arguments in this Matter, not *Comparative*, are Sophisms, to deceive our selves. That is, the Question is not, What *would* be *simply good*; but, *Which of Two* is best?

This leads me, against my Inclination, to put you on laying open some of our *Sores* (which will be excused, as extorted by the same necessity, which maketh a Chirurgeon to Lance a Wound, so as it may be *Cured*, rather than, only, *Skinned* over) and try, if, from thence, you must not conclude; That, Humanely speaking, there is *no Certainty*; much less, can there be *Improvements*; of any Sacred or Civil Interest, in *Scotland*; under a Separate Parliament. Putting together, our Experience of ordinary *Causes* and *Effects*.

Will it not be easier for a *Faction* in *England*, joyned with one here; to Influence the *Common Sovereign* (who hath many Powers, both in Right and Fact, over our Parliaments) to what is *their Interest*, if not United; then to obtain the *Majority of both Houses*, for Conspiring against their *Principles*, and to their *own Confusion*; in the Case of a *Common Foundation*, laid by an Union?

What

What *has* been *may* be; nay *will* be, till the Millenary years. For we must not impose on our selves by thinking that a *single* Instance, in an Age; founded on a *particular* Crisis; such as that of the parliaments in the late Troubles, and at present; can make a Rule. Therefore, I intreat, that your self may *examine* and *survey*, in short, what our separate Parliaments have *commonly* done, or possibly *can* do, since our Kings Succession to *England*.

And that either, as to *our general Establishments*. For, how long, did the *Church-Government* 1592: Or the *State-Government* 1641; stand? Or, as to the Exercise, in more special cases, of their *Powers* of Legislation, Execution, or Protection; relative to Lives, Liberty, Property, Trade; or even Religion; which comprehends all the Enjoyments of Man.

Thus, what arbitrary *Laws* have they made from 1604 to 1690? They have statuted Obedience *without reserve* to the Prince; broke the Ice for establishing a *popish Successor*; confirmed *Decreets* of Justice-Courts, finding Innocence, Treason: and thundred out Acts against *protestant Dissenters* equivalent to what the Vatican could contrive. Which of the *Councils* Deboardments have they restrained? Or *Tacksmen of Customs* their marring Trade by their own Monopolies? Or *Statesmens* oppressing of private Men, or Vastations of the publick Revenue? They discharge, in place of paying, *publick Debts*: and *destroy*, one year, the Acts on the faith whereof Men had laid out their Stocks, upon Manufactories, in the other. Their Laws about *Commerce*, either ruine it, or remain a dead Letter: And their power of receiving *protestations for remeed of Law*, without Regulation; renders all at once precarions; considering the Influence; in this place, inured to Dependence; of a great Man or Party. But further, as to the protection of *publick Rights*; the Royal Fisherie, *post-nati* priviledges, the 50 *Sous per Tonn* in *France*; and *African-company*, *&c.* are Demonstrations that tho they were willing, they are *uncapable*. Yea, within our own Sphere, do they not leave our *Commons* in Slavery, our *Poor* starving, our *Gentry* in Man-rent, our Merchants (except those of Wine and Luxury) shut up, *&c.* and the very *Nation* Bankrupt? Yet, they do not miss to levy, and often annex, heavy *Taxes*, even in time of *Peace*. Whence it's become a Proverb, that they served only for *laying on Cess*, or to fight themselves into *Places* from *England*. Finally, our very *Revolution Acts* depend upon a Breath, How soon the *Royal Negative* can be prevailed on; in a time of peace, when Commotions may be easily quelled; to give the Swing to a *Majority* of Devoto's to prelacy and absolute Monarchy: At the least for turning our Church-Establishment either to a Toleration, or Erastianism, *&c.*

This is only a Minature of the great *Name*, whereof we are so fond. Compare it's Exchange with an *English*, much more a *British*, Parliament. And then, in the first place; cast up where the *Ballance* lyes in the Excambion. In the next place, consider, whether it be *reasonable* for us to expect from the *English*, if they let us in to their Trade and Parliaments, a Trust of such Interests, of others; while we, thus mannaged our own? Yea, in the third place, examine if that would not even *mar all* the Benefits accrescing to us by an united State. In which Expiscati-

on

on you are ſpecially to notice the *new Shape* into which the Maxims of Government are altered, by *the Trade* which the Diſcovery of the new World has produced. For this differences what is practicable, *now*; from the *old* Precedents of Union.

Suppoſe then, it were poſſible, that the *Engliſh* ſhould cede to a ſeparate Parliament: Yet our *Miſ-government* and their *Diſtruſts*, would be a Fly in the Oyntment; an Error in the firſt Concoction, which vitiats the Digeſtion of the beſt *Dyet*: As will appear from *privat* and *publick* Reaſons.

A Man will do Juſtice in paying what is due to his *Friend*, much more to his Blood-*Relation*; when the *Advantage* thereof redounds, conſequentially, to himſelf. But Intereſt may overcome Morality, if he have not a *Check* over his Creditor; that, warmed, with theſe Effects, he be not a *Snake in Boſom*. Yea the very *Suſpition* thereof may be equally miſchievous.

Thus, the wiſe *Romans* would not admit a Cautioner by a Husband to his Wife; leſt his *Jealouſie*, might be a worſe Evil than her Inſecurity. But even a Step-Father, *enſured* that his Wifes Children will not make uſe of the Riches which he makes up to them, in a *Plea againſt himſelf*; will not fail to improve their Fortunes in their Minority; Becauſe thereby he ſtrengthens his own *Family*; they being uterine to his own Heir.

There is more Jealouſie in *publick* Managements; becauſe leſs particular knowledge of a Multitudes Integrity. So if the *Papiſts* among the *Dutch*, or *Proteſtants* of *Germany*, or *Provinces* incorporated into *Spain*, *France* and *England*, *&c.* had reſerved *Co-ordinate Authority*, in the laſt Reſult of Government; that would have laid a Bane of *Diffidence*; and the effect thereof, a continued *Endeavour* by the more powerful, to check, *in time*, a growing *Rivall*, who, ſome day, might become an *Enemy*. Which holds much more now, when Nations ſtand by *Trade*; wherein a weaker Neighbour may worm out a ſtronger; through a dormant *Stealth*, or by more *Frugality* or *Induſtry*. It being ſo coy that it ſeldom returns whence it had deſerted. Againſt which there is no Fence, except the Weaker become the Strongers *OWN*; or there be a *Check* againſt Deboardments, by an Union in a common legiſlative for keeping the Ballance. To whom, it's all one which of *their Countreys* becomes moſt opulent: under the Moderation, always of a juſt *Equality*. Which the Majority (whatever *particular* Perſons or Societies may attempt) will find it indiſpenſibly their Intereſt to maintain: the *neat Profit* ariſing to *privat Men* by the Encroachment, being no more in the Ballance with the *publick* Juſtice, Security, and Peace; which depend on Equality (eſpecially where that is made a Fundamental of both) than a Mite is to a Mountain.

By all which, I think; is eſtabliſhed, that, our Security of theſe great Intereſts at *Home*, is better after, than before, the Union. And the Mercy of *dwelling in ſafty*, is a far more ſatisfying Enjoyment than vaſt Poſſeſſions, which are precarious. An *Engliſh* Man, with a Competency, being much more happy, than the richeſt Proprietors in the Eaſt or Weſt Empires, under the *Terror* of, *Hurry-canes*, *Earthquakes*, Savages, or lawleſs Deſpotes. Beſides the Bleſſings of the Goſpel.

Which

Which leads me to proceed from what we *have*, and is *secured*, in our reserved Rights among our selves: To other Advantages of the Union that (in humane certainty) are without possible Hazard of an *English* Majority; as not interfeiring, but concurring with their *proper Interests*. First, in relation to *Religion*, and, next, to *civil* Concerns.

As to *religious* Concerns Abroad and at Home. It is evident:

1. That the whole *Protestant Interest* through the World (in which our selves are included) is established by this Settlement.

Popish Princes have a great politick Advantage in the Pope, as a Center of their *Unity*: Tho he's less capable since his *Arms* became despised. But protestant States are dangerously *divided* in place, Allyances, yea mutual Quarrels. To cement which against *Bourbon* or *Austria* in their turns of the Ballance; and prosecution either of Liberty or the northern Heresie: *Britain* being *united*, and thereby leaving no Postern for an Enemy, will have both the Reputation and power of *a Head*. So as the *Dutch* shall not be swallowed up, or *other protestant Powers* destroy one another (which was very near, sometime ago; by simple *Non-assistance*, ot contrary Measures, of a masked protestant King) till the Flame at last arrive at *our House*.

The *present* Armament, Confederacy, and Steadyness of the Queens Ministry and Parliament, is not *immortal*: And therefore if we have any regard to our *Brethren*, for whom Christians are *bound to lay down even their Lives*; or if our selves, resolve not to turn, or burn in our Toure; we are highly concerned. Whence, none acquaint with the common News, will deny this to be an Interest not Interfeiring. Especially considering, that the *civil Enjoyments* of both, are a consequence of the protestant Establishment.

2. The *Substantials of Religion* will flourish and be safe at Home. Which, cer-certainly, is also a joynt Interest.

It's specially to be noticed on this Head, that (for what I know) there is no Nation in the World in which the Protestant Religion is made *essentially fundamental* to the civil Constitution; except in this, by the Union. And what need we may have of such a *Barr*, may appear by the formidable Attacks that have been made, in former times, on the Statutes about Religion. But further,

The great occasion of Mens being diverted by *Mint* and *Cumin* from the *Weightier Things of the Law*, was, the *Hopes* that one Party had of *overturning the others Settlement*; Which Expectation being extinguished, its effect will cease, at least in great measure.

Thus, the separat Meetings, extravagant Principles of un-christianing us, and forreign Worship introduced *here*, among such, as, were never *formerlie* of that Communion; and cannot pretend *Conscience* for it *extra territorium*, since it's only binding by *positive Authority*; never grew to *Hights* till they had prospect of gaining the *Field*. But most People will weary of the Humour and Expence when they find it's *needless*. In *England*, since the Toleration of protestant Dissenters; the current of *Writers* of any Reputation, has turned against Atheism, Deism, Socinianism, Popery, Immoralities; for, propagating Christian Knowledge,

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the Duty and Interest of mutual Forbearance, &c. Or, at most, are about occasional Communion, and what is relative thereto. Yea, we see Abroad, when they *despair of* gaining the Subversion of one anothers Constitution; what Calm there is even betwixt *Protestants* and *Papists*, *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, with other *Subdivisions*: In *Switzerland*, many parts of *Germany*, *Holland*, &c. and their Bitterness breaks not out, in any disturbing Degree; except where it's a Covert *to a State*-Controversie; as betwixt the Ortodox and Arminians amongst the *Dutch*; Or, at most, where the Establishment depends on a *mutable Law*, against which, change of Circumstances may encourage Attempts. But that is morally impossible; both in Right and Fact, with us, after the Union, where it's not a *simple Law* but a *Contract*; not *supervenient*, but fundamental to the new Constitution; And therefore, not changeable; there being no power on Earth capable to alter it.

Some of the Consequences hereof will be:

3. That *Christian Knowledge* in those, who, now, live in the shadows of Death; shall be wonderfully promoved.

Most of the *Highlands*, and many other dark Corners among us *perish* for *want of Knowledge*: Partly because Ministers have not access; but chiefly (as occasioning the other) by reason that the People have no *Idea* of, and for getting it, cannot read, the first Principles of Christianity; not having Schools, or Funds, (the Law being lifeless there) for them. This is lamentable both on *Religious* and *secular* Accounts.

For, as the Redemption of their *Souls ceaseth for ever*, they not knowing the right way to the Mediator; with the Compassion whereof, many of the *Papists* outdo us, towards the East and West *Indies*: So our *Secular* Advantages would be mightily promoved by that Obedience, Sociableness, Industry, Faithfulness, and mutual Aid, of such Numbers, in so Improvable Countries; which are the Dictates of Religion.

But the Generous *English*; without Distinction of Opinions, who lay out such prodigious *Sums* and *Pains* by their *Societies*, *for promoving Christian Knowledge*, both on *Heathens* Abroad, and *Charity Schools* at Home; as they have sent *Books*, so they had long ere now, contribute *Funds*, where the Law cannot force them, *with us*: if not obstructed by their *Diffidence* in our Government, and Administration of all Publick Designs; which the Union removes.

Certainly this is a concurring Interest. And further,

4. Any Dangerous *Persecutions* will cease for ever; of the Protestant Dissenters, all over the Dominions of *England*: upon the Union.

It's true, they are, at present, secured only by a variable *Law*, or the Sovereigns *Promise*. But the Church Establishment in *Scotland* cannot miss, either to *perswade* the Continuance thereof; or, in all Events, afford a *Retreat* to Conscience, with *Brittish* civil Priviledges. It's also true, that the License of the Press, from a few Itching Heads, may, still, *Pester* us with what is of lesser Concern. But as, Fighting without *Sharps* signifies little; so that can go no further than *Duels*,

els, without any general Engagement. For the *Majority* will ſtand Unanimous on the ſide of Subſtantial *Chriſtianity* and our *Peace*: Veying, at moſt, who ſhall do beſt in propagating *thereof*: and either pitying or deſpiſing Excentrick Skirmiſhes. Even ſo long as they retain the Senſe of *Liberty* and *Property*. Being, by Experience, of each Party when in Power, its *Overacting* to a Degree of *Felo de ſe*: At the leaſt, that ſuch Conduct tends to the *Politick Detriment*; by Depopulation, Commotions, Diſ-reputation Abroad, and Encouragement of the common Enemy, *&c.* fully convinced of the Folly, as well as Impiety of, *Churches Triumphant*, in that manner, *upon Earth*.

While, on the other Hand, it will be the Stability of both Churches (which is an Advantage we wanted, of the *Primitive Times*) that the Members of each will be ſuch, out of real *Conviction*, without Compulſion.

So that this Intereſt is *Common*, if common Senſe be ſuch. But further,

5. I dare, and do, again, reckon our particular *Church Eſtabliſhment* among the *Non-interfeering Intereſts*.

Both in regard, that the Majority have *no Principle* inconſiſtent with its ſubſiſting in a ſeparate Territory: And, however, the ſaids four *other Intereſts*, which might be marr'd, with this, are preponderant to it; and thereby, its Security: yea, all their *Civil Intereſts* muſt be brought to the Ballance, as directly contrary to ſuch Infringement. Which leads us to conſider, what theſe are both with *them* and *us*. For:

As to our *Secular* Intereſts put at *Certainty* by the Union: as being *common* to both, *not interfeering* with any in *England*; or, at leaſt, not a *Majority* there: there are ſome of them *general*, ſome *particular*, both *Abroad* and at *Home*. Thus,

1. *Abroad*: our King or Queen, being ſecure at Home, cannot miſs to hold the *Ballance* of *Europe*; yea, of all *Maritime Powers* on the Earth.

Shipping and *Seamen* will encreaſe; for which our *Fiſheries*, and what *New Trade* may be opened by the Peace; will be an Acceſſory Fund. In *Wars* on the Continent, *Confederates* dare not (as now) withdraw their *Quotas*; under the Confidence, that we *cannot* make a ſeparate Peace, till a *Barrier* be eſtabliſhed: conſidering the Poſtern that's *open* at Home. For, that being ſhut, our Sovereign may, more ſecurely, return to an *United People*, encloſed within an *Iſle*, and its Woodden *Walls*; or ready, *together*, for common *Defence*; if Conditions be not Implemented.

This is far from being *Indifferent to us*, who, then, muſt know and eſteem, all that's done by the ſame *Body*, to be our *own*: So that we'll reap the *Glory* of War; *Ambaſſadors* at Negotiations; Security from *Invaſions*; the *Profits* of the Articles of Peace; eſpecially by an Advantageous *Tariff*; (all which we wanted before) accreſcing to all the parts of the whole: both in *Reality* and *Reputation*, at Home and Abroad.

Which, that it is a great Intereſt of *ours*, included (and ſo not Interfeering with) theirs: none will contravert.

2. Among *our ſelves*: the Arbitrarineſs or Tyranny of *our Kings*, is at an end.

That this Ineſtimable Purchaſe will be *common*, muſt be beyond Debate: ſince *Precedents of Power*, not controlled, in any part of the *United* Kingdom: will found it over *all*.

And the Value of this Security is too well known through the reſt of, almoſt, the whole *World*; Groaning under their own *Slavery*, and enveighing the *ſurvived Liberties* of *Brittain*. As alſo, with *our ſelves*; may appear by the Inventar of Deboardments, not only in our Ancienter *Hiſtory*, but likewiſe lately *Acted, and Recorded in our Claim of Right*, to the ſad Experience of many yet living.

And this concurring Intereſt, will be fortified; By,

3. The Frequency, Weight, Stability, and only Triennial Endurance, of *Parliaments*.

Theſe are the Qualities of a *Guardian*, which we have wanted, and ſtrugled for, ſo much. And, then, it will be ſo *powerful*, that no Prince will venture to attempt on it; and ſo well *conſtitute*, with *Three Negatives*, and a free *Election*; that all the Beauties, without the Diſorders, of *Monarchy*, *Ariſtocracy*, and *Democracy*, center in one. By which, we, not only, may *truſt* the Steadineſs of their Conduct, in Time of Peace and Foreign Wars; but likewiſe, it will *prevent Civil Commotions* for ever (the Diviſion of the two Kingdoms, being the original Source of all the Tragedies, that are in our Annals) ſince; then, it will be ſeen, that either Prince, Pretender, or Subject-malcontents, muſt counteract in vain, what ſuch an Auguſt Body does conclude, in *Extra-Fundamentals*.

Being thus, *negatively*, ſecure againſt our two grand Enemies, Popery and Slavery; both from Abroad and at Home; and, *poſitively*, inſured of the moſt valuable Enjoyments, Civil and Sacred: and what ſome call *Mixt*, Church-Lands and Tiends, computed the half of the Property of *Scotland*, *&c.* Let us launch out a little further, into the *Detail* of ſome other very *great Intereſts*, which co-incide, and noways juſtle, with thoſe of *England*. Such as,

4. All their *publick Rights* become *ours*, in Communion: and our own Ancient *Dignity*, remains; with the Superaddition of their *Power*. Which are Intereſts not Interfeering. Thus,

We ſhall acquire all their *Ships* of War, ſo Numerous: their Land *Armies*, ſo Valiant: their *Theſaury*, of ſuch Regularity and Truſt: their *Plantations*; to which we jump in, as if we'd concurred in all the Blood, Treaſure, and Pains of the Purchaſe: their *Convoys* in War, leſt the Spoil ſhould cede to the Enemy; and *Conſuls* in Peace, it being the Sovereigns Honour, that all Subjects get Right done them throughout the World: the Benefit of their *Act* of *Navigation*, and Immunity of *Taxes* laid on Strangers; under the want whereof, we did ſo long ſmart: the Encouragement of their *Drawbacks*, and *Premio's*: the *Glory* and *Triumphs* of their Crown: the Stability and Moderation of their *Government*: the *Dominion* which they have over *Ireland*: Yea, they have changed their very *Name* (known and terrible through the Earth) for doing us Honour, *&c.*

Here, Lawyers tell us *, That one Sovereignty being *Surrogat* to another, the former *Precedency* does remain: As was decided betwixt the Dukes of *Ferrara*

* *Mackenzie* of *Precedency*, *Queſt.* 2d.

and

and *Florence*; and obtains in the *German* Emperor, by Right of the Ancient Common-wealth of *Rome*. So, in the present new Constitution, *Scotland* gets *England*, and *England* gets *Scotland*: as, of old, with us, the Wifes *Nobility* accresced to the Husband, without any *Diminution* of it in *her self*; tho they become *legally one*: in Reciprocation whereof, his *Dignity* accrue *to her*. Upon which Ground, we shall, now, find *English* Writers owne and Blazon, our *Famous Chivalries*; and *Antiquity*, which, joyned to *Power*, (that it wanted before; whereas *both* are requisite, to make a State's Rank to be acknowledged Abroad) may, perhaps, claim a *new* Precedency. The rather, that our Kings reside, now, within our *own Kingdom*: for both of us are Walled, as't were, within *one City*: and, consequently, vve must think their *Glories*, hereafter, to be *our own*; vvhich *Estimation* vve find in the other People Incorporate, already, to *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *&c.*

What was our *Nominal Sovereignty*? the *Phantome* of a *Body*, upon the Matter, without a *Head*; while contending with these usefuller *Parts*, and not joyned *in them*, as well as *to them*; but suppreſt by *Sea* and *Land*: and, thereby, *more dependent* on a King and his Party, than, now, in a *British* Parliament: to all this *Substantial and Permanent Acquest*? Which must remain with us, till our Neighbours *destroy themselves*. And further,

5. The *Execution of Justice* within our Borders, both as to *private* and *publick Laws*; is a common Concern: that will come in place of the *Factions*, which reign at present.

Tho the Complaints are small, as to the last Resort of *private Right*: Yet there were *some*; when Parties, or their Friends, made themselves *Terrible*, by their Influence in our *own Parliament*. And *publick* Laws, as to Trade, Manufactories, Imployment of the Poor, Fisheries, *&c.* remained, for most part, lifeless Paper: So far, that it's become a Proverb: how we needed *one Law to Execute the rest*.

Whereas, among our Neighbours, what Law is it that wants it's *Vigour*? And our Native Fervour, wanting the *Fuel* of *Division*; rais'd for obtaining Places, by marring the *Parliamentary* Management of others; will, then, be *turned to the Channel of Merit*; *particularly*, in a due *Executing* of Laws: as the only remaining Resource for Promotion.

6. It's a promiscuous Concern, to *free* our *Land* and *Trade* of *Taxes*; and, in order thereto, of *publick Debts*.

Cess was, in effect, a constant Annuity out of our Lands: whereas, now, it can obtain only in Time of *War*; yea, such a War as is *extraordinary*; and, even, in a more moderate *Quota*, than our selves have often Imposed. *Excise* was *Annexed*; and, frequently *Increased*: but now it's *Dissolved*; and *Ascertained*, not to go *beyond* what it is at present: tho it may *be less* by Management; nay, wholly *cease*, in some time hereafter. Our *Customs*, in Bulk, will be less than now; except what burdens *Luxury*, or is eschewable by *Manufacture*: at the least, after 1710; bringing Impositions on our Product, now, disburdened in *England*, into the Accompt *. Yea, Inland *Salt* (that terrible Scar-crow) dwindles into

* *See Minuts of Parliament containing Report of the Committee.*

1 *Sbill. per* Bushel, after 7 Years Immunity: and, likewise, that, *Commutable* to other Funds; when the Debts run off these, in few Years hence. And *Forreign Salt* is made, eventually, to bear *no Duty*; by the Draw-backs, which are ordered in so easie a Method, that the one may answer the other.

Here two things are to be observed: namely, 1. That most of the *Noise* about Burdens, evanishes, almost, into nothing. And we need not doubt both of the *Anxiety* and *Capacity* of the *English* to clear off what remains. Because, as it's their Interest not to leave the Chain of Trade, which they directly or consequentially affect, clogged thereby; in our *Rivalry* with Neighbours: So what will be resting after 1710, must, soon sink: by the *Mortgage* from *Spain* for the Expenses of the War; which, probably, will be redeemed with some *Provinces* in *America*; that, being exposed to *Sale*, holding of, and dependent on, the Crown of *Britain*, must produce immense Sums: And by the *natural Fruits* of a flourishing Peace. Which Considerations of the lessning *Quota* and *Endurance* of the *English* Debts, (that by the by, were all contracted for our *common preservation*) being joyned to the *Repensation* of what we pay of them by Equivalents; It may be said, in a *national sense*, that our being *subject* to a share of them, is rather *Notional* than *Real*. But further, 2. We ought to distinguish betwixt what is *temporary* and what is *perpetual*; and consider the *Credit* als well as the *Debt*, in the Accompt; before we can make a just *Estimat* of a *lasting Establishment*. For, will an appearand *Heir* repudiat a *great Estate* because of some *Debts*; when there must be a vast free *Superplus*, which he, or at least his Son, may enjoy without any Burdens. Will a Man refuse a virtuous and beautiful Wife; having such an ample *Tocher*, that perhaps two years *Rent* thereof will satisfie all her Debts, which she contracted in the legal evicting and protecting *of it*; whereunto the Law makes him subject? Or can any Man buy a *share* in a *publick Company*, without it's being affected vvith a Proportion in the *Burdens* of that *Society*; to vvhich he thereby enters? And hovv, othervvays, could the *common Management* of it be expedited; vvithout Confusion?

7. Hereafter no *Prince* can play *one* of the Kingdoms *against the other*: And *both*, vvithout breaking into civil War, vvill go *together*, into all *publick Measures*; not sebversive of Fundamentals.

There needs only Hints of History to imprint this unvaluable common Interest. Thus in 1681, *Scotland* did almost nail Ruine on *England*. And tho in 1650 a *Prince* coming in by the *one*, did miscarry; yet in 1660, being ovvned by such Representative as *both*, then, had; he vvas settled vvithout a Stroke. and *civil Liberty and Property*, vvill be, alvvays, a *Fence* that this give no ground to *Popery*, in our Land.

8. The flourishing of our *Trade*, in *Branches not interfeiring* (vvhich are far *more* numerous than is vulgarly imagined; yea, uncontravertedly, the *great Bulk* thereof) is an Interest that *concurrs* vvith that of *England*. And consequently they vvill maintain and propagat the same to the utmost. Thus

They

They need our *black Cattel* for ever, to eat up their Under-growth and other Grass; Which, without that, would be lost. Since even the *Irish* Cattle, brought up in as good pasture as in *England*, will not, almost, taste thereof.

This will *improve*, on, our *Draw-backs* for exported Beeff and pork; their getting home their *People*, and their retaining their *Money*, after this War: Much more when the *Salt Tax* decreses, so as it will be less necessary to victual so many Ships in *Ireland*.

Our *Linen*, the more it flourish; they and their Plantations, are served the *better* and *cheaper*: while themselves, will neither bestow their *Grounds*; nor *divert* the Labour of their People, from the Woollen Manufactory; on it. And there are more *Demands* for this Product, than both *Ireland* and we can satisfie.

Course Wollen Manufactories, that may have such vent Abroad, after our selves are served; is, in many parts thereof, *peculiar* to our *Soil*. And what will force it, must be perpetual; namely, a full *Assurance* against *Exportation of Wooll*; so long as the strength of *England* stands on that. Besides the temporary *Encouragement* out of the Equivalent; which will set it a foot. Nay, it's all one to the *National Interest* of the Isle; tho *finer* Broad-Cloaths flourish likeways in this part of it: Since it'll augment the national *Stock*; which will always determine the *Majority*; Upon the grounds hereafter represented.

Fisheries, of most Sorts, are *Subjects*; either *different* from those that *England* hath in any valuable Quantity, as Salmond, Herring, White-fish, *&c.* Or, there are *Mercats*, in so many Countreys that want them (through Situation, or Superstition) for *more* than both *Britain*, the *Dutch*, and *Newfunland*, can produce. Besides that the *English* have a *particular concern* to advance this inexhaustible Treasure; tho it were with *publick Funds*, at the least out of our Equivalents: In regard that, it founds a Sock of *Seamen* to their Fleets; increases our *Shipping*, which augments their Strength; brings *in* or *saves*, Money to the Isle; which now goes out both for *Naval stores* and other *Products* of these Countreys to which Fish is carryed, with so great success, by the *Dutch*.

These and the like Branches of Improvements that require *many Hands*, such as Coalls, Salt, Lead, and other Minerals, Woods, building Ships, making Nets, working thin Leather, *&c.* (that did never thrive before; for want of, *Government*, and these places of *Vent*, that are now opened) the *trading Voyages* with the *Exchange* of our *Product* carryed out, under Draw-backs or *Prœmio*'s, for Corns, Fish, Flesh, *&c.* and vending *abroad*, *Plantation Returns*; which also, have Draw-backs, *&c.* will imploy a prodigious Number of our *Poor*, encrease *Treadsmen*, raise *Merchants*, throng in *Money* with the Ballance of Trade on our side: And consequently, keep at *Home our People*.

Nor is *remoteness* from the Seat of Government, of Places, having *Subjects* of Trade and *Ports*; inconsistent with their flourishing and populousness. Thus many particular Towns in *England* and *Abroad*, very distant from the Capital City; have more shipping, Trade, and Riches, than all *Scotland*: With which, the expedition of Posts and Pacquet-boats, make an easie and frequent *Communication*.

Neither

Neither by absence of the Court, do we want any *Consumpt* that we had formerly; for, then, great Men were dependent, and consequently both themselves and their Money went from us; and many Thousands, after the Expenses of their Education here, did desert us for want of Imployment: which is, now, made up, in great Measure, by the Increase of our Business at home. Yea, we, can scarcely miss our Parliament (which is the only Judicature that we want) for it would sit seldom at other Occasions; and that is more than compensed by constant continuance of the *Session*, and other Courts; by *Trade*; and the like Profits of the Union. And if any go off more frequently than they do; it's *in in order to bring in* their *Conquests* to our Native Land; where they have their Blood-*Relations*, and our peculiar *Security* of Purchases, under the happy general Government of *Great-Britain*.

The *cheaper* that our *Corns* be, it will serve the better for the purposes abovementioned: but a *moderat medium*, ballances best the Interests of Proprietor and acquirer. And as to that it's to be observed (which may make another Branch of our *Trade*) that,

Our *Land product of Corn* is, either such as the *English* have *not*, or in no Quantity. Thus, Meal, Groats, *&c.* with the *Prœmio's*: may be sent not only to *Norway*, at occasions; but likewise, to the *Plantations*; where it will be a delicious dyet for Slaves, tho it be but transported, only in *Ballast*, to those Ships that are to *Report* the *Bulkish* Returns of a *Compact* Woollen and Linen Cargo. Or, where the *English* have the *like Grain*, as Barley, Wheat, *&c.* which, tho better than ours; yet it's to be considered, 1. How they *can spare little* or *none* of the *Finest*; when, on a *Peace*, so many *Thousands*, now Fed Abroad, return Home; and they go on, daily, to *turn more* and more Ground into *Pastures*. 2. They'll want *that* Prœmio which they gain by Exporting it over Sea; and, thereby, this place will make the *worst Mercat*. And, 3. The *Perfection* of Grain in *Murray*, *Lothian*, *&c.* is not less than most of theirs. Besides, the different Ease 'twixt Buying with *ready* Money, and upon *Trust*; which last, Strangers, at such a Distance, will not readily indulge to our Bakers and Brewers. And tho a little may come at Occasions; yet that is more than compensed by the *New Vent*, and the *Southern Consumpt* (*Irish* Victual being excluded) its *increasing*, with, their *People*, turning more Lands to *Grass*, and making *Demands* for the Plantations. Which, put together, may put an end to Imaginary Fears. If we joyn thereunto, 4. That it will be the perpetual *Interest* of *England*, to encourage our Consumpt on our own Fisheries, Manufactories, other Improvements, Increase of People; for, bringing Money to the Isle, Accommodation of their Plantations, *&c.* since it's their Interest, that these do encrease.

I do not trouble you with a more particular Enlargement on the *other Consequences* of a Communication and Protection in Trade; such as that to *Guinea*, and the *North*: As having the most adapted Materials for the one, and best Contiguity to the other, *&c.* And the vast Improvements that may be made out of our Equivalents, so well accommodat to a Nation that is setting up, *&c.* For,

Suppose

Suppose we get no more than what is premised, which resolves into *a certainty* that our *chief Interests* civil and sacred will not *decrease*: Yea they will *improve*; tho, perhaps, not to the *Heights* that some Prints make the Amount, and the *French* and *Dutch* do jealouse: Its more than *adequat* to what we *give*. Namely, the Transformation of *a part* of that bare *Sovereignty*; whereof the *English* King and a Party there, had, in effect, *the whole* before.

Nor can there be any grounded fear that this *British* Parliament will disappoint our Felicity, by laying on *subsequent Burdens* on Land or Trade; or do *injustice* in Interests seeming to interfeir. For, their *not hurting themselves*, must save *us*: And there can be a Collision only with *a part*; but not the *Majority*. Because; by the Treaty Taxes must be *equal*, and conformed to the several *Exigences* of the place. Now, is it not morally impossible? That Men not mad, will lay *twenty* on themselves for gaining *two* of us: Or that they'l found a *Convulsion* at Home, or *Disreputation* Abroad, by *Chicaneing* us? No; they are a *Benign* and *Just*, as well as a *wise*, People; signally famous for the sacredness of their *publick Faith*. Especially, where it's contracted in a time *not tumultuous*, with consent of the *Sovereign*, on clear *Terms*, and National *Ruine* do's not divert from observing it: The Deficiency of which four *Requisites*, was the case of *the League*. To which may be added a *Fifth*, of it's not having been *fundamental*, and thereby *real*; but, at most, a *personal Obligement* superinduced on the *still existing*, former Governments. Which last Specialitie differences the present Settlement, likewise, from most of *Pacta Conventa* Abroad. But when we are their *own* in a *new Constitution*, *so far as* to be barr'd from abusing it: And the Result will cede to their own national Strength and Glory: What must we not expect? When even in a *separate state*, they have done us many *good Offices* consequentially beneficial to themselves. Thus, we owe to them the Establishment of our sacred and civil *Reformation* under Queen *Mary*: They prevented the *deforming* of it in the first *Part*. of K. *Charles 1st*'s Reign: And it's *Extinction* was at Hand, when they sent us the late happy *Revolution*. But, descending to closser Instances of the *majoritys care* in an incorporat State; did we ever find, among *our selves*, that the *South* conspired, successfully, with some Burrows; against the *North* Countrey Victual: Tho it lower'd the *Mercats* upon some, and hindred others from buying *cheaper* out of *Ireland*? Or, in *England*, have the multitude of Towns and Counties *lesed* by the excessive Increase of *London*; joyned to its hurt? Which were easie: If a plurality in Parliament were not over-ruled by the fear of a *National Shock*. And will not, to the end of the World, the Majority *lose much more* by such a publick Injustice, than the gain, deducing Expence, of the competing Partie, indangered also in the *common Calamity*, could compense? And may not Providence, over-rule, to that future *end*, appearances at this time, both in relation to Church and State; for our Neighbours *Advertisement*? So that our Safety being the Interest of the Body; the Majority, must be still on our side. Particularly considering that *Breach* of *Treaty* will found, the opening again of the *Postern*, and hazard of *Ireland*; better than now; both in *Law* and *Concurrence*: Since the

 Articles

Articles, which are the Base of such a *new* Government; are more fixt than either the Union of *Utreicht*, Pacification of *Munster*, or Coalition of *Wales*. And lastly, tho it should fall out otherways, in some smaller Matters; yet it's no Argument to reject the Scheme: being no more, in Ballance to what is *perpetual*, and absolutely *secure*, compensing such a little Loss, to a vast Excresce; than one is to a Million. And the *Value* of the whole is magnified by its being *indefeasible*, as to our Rights *pactioned* or *reserved*; For its undoubted, that the consent even of *all our own Members* (who are not a *Scots Parliament*, but a *part* of the *British*) yea nor of the *whole British Parliament* (who as to *these* is no parliament at all) *cannot alter* one Hair's breadth of them. To which if we add, what is very remarkable, that most of all great Votes in *England*, even in *swinging Parliaments* (which answers the Objection that there may come a *Tory-change*) have carryed by a less *Majority* than 45 Members; and many more must always be for *us* in particular, considering the special Interest of *Dissenters*, and the *moderat* Party: it amounts to a *real Warrandice* against any rational Suspicion, either in *Right* or *Fact*, of any regular Event that you can forecast.

But (some say) our uneasiness, would rather cease; by declaring the *protestant Successor*, to an *independent* State: Or (as others) let us *wait better Conditions*, on a Vacancy in the Throne. And when Difficulties are opponed hereunto; then the good Men among them, do answsr, that we ought to *rely upon providence*.

These Schem's have been convincingly exposed, both by the Wisdom of our *Parliament*, and *Arguments* of our Writers; which I am not fond to repeat. Only, as the putting the Matter off is a too visible decoying into the Trap; since better terms, that could be had, and durable, (equality being essential to that) can scarcely be imagined: So, the pretended present Settlement, when we can have a better; Would 1. be a *fatal Loss* of the irrecoverable *additional Advantages*. Leaving us under, almost, all our *former* incumbent *Evils*, future *Fears*, and dispair of *Improvements*. Yea, 2. What release it might give us, in *some Interests*; could not be *lasting* or *safe*; either as to Sacred or Civil Concerns. And consequently 3. The casting all that's *done*, loose; in the View of it; would not be a warrantable *Confidence*, but a Criminal *Presumption*. For

None of the, before enumerat Interests, could obtain in *such Measure*; and, most of them, not *at all*; except in an *Incorporating* Union. Thus, it is: in the not Interfeering Concerns, Abroad or at Home; for making a *Bulwark* to the Protestant Religion, the Flourishing of the Substantials of *Christianity*, the Freedom from *Persecutions*, and the Stability of our *Church Establishment*, *&c.* And, in the *Civil* Part, as to *Tyranny* in Princes, Consistency of *Parliaments*, *Glory* on the Continent, Freedom from *Invasions*, Intestin Wars, and *Factions*: Enjoyment of the *Publick Rights* of *England*: *Execution* of our Laws, both private and publick: *Immunity* of Land and Trade from *Taxes*, after some time: the not being made *Tools* to inthral our Neighbours, or they, us; but going together in *publick Measures*: the Increase of our *Trade* in Subjects not Interfeering; and sufficient *Safety* of Commerce, and other Concerns, which, tho they might seem to *Grate* on a Party, yet,

yet, *never so*, as to corrupt a *Majority* against us, &c. In a word, *Religion* and *Liberty*, and Trade, ensure one another, as may appear from what is reasoned above.

To supply all this; what can we dream, about *Statutory* Restrictions in *Scotland*, on a King of *England*; more than of a *Cob-web*, to bind an Elephant? Or, of *our* Parliament, in a *separate State*; but that it *re-act* the former *Tragedies*? Considering, what became of the most Sacred *Bonds* laid upon King *James* the *6th*, King *Charles* the first, and King *Charles* the Second: And, what could we expect, even tho we had a Fœderal Union, with *distinct States*; more than was the *Fate* of *Spain* and *Portugal*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*; or our own *Solemn League*, tho entred, at first, upon Conditions advantageous enough to the Revolters? Except, that we're more (yea utterly) *unable* to subsist *apart*. Whereas the Case alters, when, upon a *Joynt Interest*, we have *Real Warrandice* in all *Brittain*, both South and North, standing on the *same Foot*, and not *undermining* one another; for a perpetual Security of the, now, offered Purchase.

And, certainly, if we should imagine, a wise *Chinese*, or a *Primitive Christian*, seeking out an Abode; and it put in his Offer, with which of the *Two States* he should joyn? There can be no Question of his *Choice*.

Which being the Case; there is a great Difference to be made betwixt *Trusting*, and a *Tempting*, of *Providence*: as much as there is, betwixt being preserved with, and without, *Means*.

For, a Man who *provides not for his own, is worse than an Infidel*: however he *imagine* all to stand well, when it is not so. And he cannot be said to *provide* for his own as he ought, who, in the Spirit of *Slumber*, *hath not Heart*, to make use of that *Price*, which God puts in his Hands: or with the *Sluggish Servant*, hides his *Talent in a Napkin*. Nor will the Pretext of Melancholick *Hazards*, or, even, *lesser Duties*, bring him off. For, the *Husband Man that observeth the Wind, shall not Sow, and he that regardeth the Clouds, shall not Reap* *. Will not the Master of a *Ship* go to *Sea*: because there *may be a Storm*? Could the many *Ventures in Marriage*, or a Government hedged in by *others*; excuse the Heiress, and Fatuous Heretor, circumstantiat at Home and Abroad, as above related, about the beginning of this Letter: tho a *Lonely State*, did please best their own Humours? And what think you of the *Jews*, who, e're the *Sabbath* (when they'd make no Defence) did elapse, were destroyed by the Enemy; who knew well, how to make Advantage of that *Stupidity*? But what ever may, for a *while*, become of *our selves*; is there no *Sympathy*, no Labour of *Love*, in those, who (in their Fancy) sit *at Ease in Zion*; for, their *Brethren* through the World, whose Fate must be our own at last. For, was there no present Duty on *Esther*, with some Danger to her (then) *Glory* and *Security as Queen*: tho Deliverance might, in possibility, have, elsewhere risen to *Israel*; before *running of that time*, to which *Pur was casten* by the *common Enemy*? Or, would Protestant *Dissenters*, have done right, to *loiter* under King *James*'s Toleration; sufficiently founded, as to them,

* *Eccl.* 11. 4.

in his legal *Supremacy*? And not budged for a better Security by the late Revolution; tho with extreme Hazard, in case of Abortion? Finally, with regard either to *them* or *us*; Is it the acquitting our selves *like Men*: or, rather, like the *Horse and Mule, in whom there is no Understanding*: To *Wait* for a *Shield*, till we have received the *Mortal Stroak*? Especially, if our Carnal Confidence resolves into Assistance from *Egypt*, out of which, we had so happily emerg'd.

Now, *My Dear Friend*, I am Anxious to know, what may be your own *Second Thoughts* about the Union. At the least, whatever *Confused Scruples* may remain with a *Pyrrhonian*: who is it, of any *Conscience*, dare, outwardly, *Counteract* so many Sacred and Civil Mercies, that, in plain *Reason*, are most *apparent*: and have gain'd the full Assent of *Authority*, furnished with better Opportunities of knowing them? Nor, needs it stumble any, in this last, tho severals were swayed by *Secondary Inducements*. For, as you have no *Certainty* hereof: and there can be none *Equivalent* to such great Honours and Estates: so the *Cause* will *bear out* it self, to common Sense rightly informed. Which being the Case; it's known, that, in most of great *Changes*, GOD directs even the *Depravity* of Men to his own *Holy Ends*: for which, I need but to hint to you the *Temporal Motives* of many, in the first *Reformation*, superveening *Covenants*, and late *Revolution*.

Besides, that this leads me to inquire, if all be *pure Conscience*, on the *other side*? As to which, there are *two sorts* of Persons concerned, after very different manners: the *Incorrigible*, and those *capable* of Conviction. For,

1. There are some the more *Interested*, to obstruct the present Protestant Settlement; the more excellent it be for National *Interest*, and *Security* thereof. Such as the *Papists*; the, thoughtless, *Jacobites*; some *Wine-Merchants*, Pedlers for *Luxury*, and the like exorbitant Exactors; *not resolving* to take the Road of a more generous Gain: Men of *broken Fortunes* (numerous beyond what appears above Board) who project Recovery by *no other Means*, than out of the Fines and Forfeitures of their Neighbours, on a Revolution, &c.

And these will never be Reconciled to the present Measures, till their Hopes are extinguished. But,

2. Others, are, either, Men of *Knowledge* and *Honour*, who cannot, so soon, overcome their Sett of *Thoughts*; with the *Tincture* whereof, all other Schemes do enter the *Eye* of their Understanding: or, such as are only prejudiced by *Picque*, Affectation of false *Popularity*, or, *Cunning* in Choise of the *safest side* (so called) under a present moderate Government, compared with *future* Prospects. Or, otherways, they are Persons of *Conscience* and *Integrity*: yet, not having *Opportunity*, and, many of them, *Capacity*; of a *Thorow View* into this Establishment (that requires a great Reach of Thought upon compleat Information) who might, for a while, justly have doubted of their *Interest*, and its *Security*: Especially, where *Rumours* were so industriously *Adapted* to touch every single Man, in his own *Sensible Part*, in which, commonly, we are so Partial, as not to Reflect, how *Petty Losses*,

Losses, tho Real, are compensed by the *Publick Good*; or, even by *other particular Gains*; of more Value. Till, now, the *Mist* is *blown over*, by the Sequel.

But, when it comes to be so; the Men of this second Rank, attaining the same Grounds of Perswasion, that hath made the *Representative* in Parliament *supernumerary* of *all the Three* Estates; both in *Votes*, *Honours*, and *Fortunes*; will, no doubt, turn into *Unanimity* for the right Road. It being noways strange, that Men are difficult, at *first*, in going in to what is *new*; and more *founded* in the Researches of *Reason*, than *present Sense* that *Beats* without. For, the most memorable Changes are, often, carried by a small Majority: particularly, the great Vote establishing the *Revolution*, by rejecting a *Regency*, in *England*; was carried in the House of *Peers* only by *Three*: and most of all Important Cases in the House of *Commons*, are carried by a less Majority, than our 45 Members, as is observed before: whereas, after the *Light* of the *Thing* breaks out into Meridian Clearness, *all*, generally, come to be of a right Mind.

This was the noble Observation of *Elihu*: *God speaketh once, yea twice, yet Man perceiveth it not.* (but) *then he openeth the Ears of Men, and sealeth their Instruction: That he may withdraw Man from his purpose, and hide Pride from Man* *. After which Alteration of Circumstances; particularly by having *searched out the Cause which he knew not, for obtaining the Blessing of those ready to perish*, he (with magnanimous *Job*) *will not fear a great Multitude, nor will the Contempt of Families terrifie him; that he keep silence and go not out of the Door* *. Especially when he has discovered *who it is* that did impose upon him: For then he'l notice how *Moab* treated *Israel*; *I know his Wrath saith the Lord, but it shall not be so: His Lies shall not so effect it* *.

I have not reckoned the *Church* among the mistaken or deluded in this Affair: Because even the *Commission*; much more some *Presbytries*, or *single* persons; are no more than *particular Men*, in what is not *meerly executive*, or belonging to *their Sphere*. Nor, in *the State*, hath the *Majority* been misled: For what is vastly *such*, hath carryed it in the *Representative*; yea, even in the *Countrey*, are *not Addressers* against it; Or only *as* (they thought it) *contained in the Articles*; which being now *cleared up* to Conviction; I doubt not but honest Men will *be at one* upon that emergent Light. Which, *Self-opiniatrity*, in a man of common Morality, will tremble to stifle: Since it brings to his *personal Charge* all the negative and positive *Mischiefs*, that must be the effect of Disturbance or Disapointment, in the *most glorious Cause* that ever was; *Religion* and *Liberty* being better established (as to humane Security) in this Settlement, than in any other Nation under the Sun.

This *Superveniency* might seem sufficient to put a *Bar* on any Antecedent *lesser Duty*; even by *Oaths*: especially such, as cannot denude the *Supreme Powers* of their Authority for doing *their's*. Yet I intreat your Permission to digress a little on this Scruple; since it is the only Difficulty that remains with some, who o-

* *Job* 33. 14, 16, 17. * *Job* 29. 13, 16. and *Job* 31. 34. * *Jerem.* 48. 30.

therways,

therways, are satisfi'd with the *Union*; especially, if the Execution of *Church-civil-Rights* centre in the *Session*; And that of *Ryots* on them, in the *Justice-Court*.

Waving, then; *Testimonies* already interposed, and many things toss'd formerly and of late; which it's not desireable to *revive*: the true *state of the* Case at present, on the Principles above laid down; will fully clear the matter; without touching upon *contraverted Points*. For

We do not, *by* or *after* the Treaty, *owne* B-----ps as our *Ecclesiastick* Officers; Since both Churches remain quite *distinct*: But joyn *only with that secular Body* in which they happen to be a lesser *part*; to *civil effects*.

Nor does this last, homologat the Adjunction of a *civil* to a sacred Power; *as to* [illegible] Because,

It's *not* done *by us*, but by them, *before the Union*: When, both Parliaments *act separatly*; in determining, each their own Representative, in the *future* united Parliament. Yea,

Our admitting of this Nomination, imports no more than our ceding to what we *cannot help*: Namely, the *State-part* of the Character, *previously* incorporat with their Parliament; as if the *rest* were *not in being*, otherways than *designative*.

Which inferrs no Homologation, as being *ascriveable* to *another Cause*: Namely, the owning *that Body as secular*; without looking in to the *quality* of some lesser Number of its parts.

For, we contract not with either *House*; much less with some sort of *persons* therein; but with the *whole separate Parliament*, as a *Body Politick*. And *peculiar Opinions*, especially in preter-fundamentals; do not *obstruct the Society* of *Men* or *Subjects qua such*. Just as, in a *necessary submission* of differences, one Party cannot *decline anothers choise* of his *own* Arbiters. Especially where; upon a narrow Scrutiny, the Objections, if made, might appear *reciprocal* (as some P-----ns go further in impugning B-----ps; then they, them) so that *both's* holding their Peace, is no more than *Equality*.

The same way as, we do not boggle, on either side, at several *godless and profligate Members*, tho expresly secluded from *Magistracy* by both divine and humane Law, in some of our *Parliaments*; since we associate not with them *as such*: and the sins of *others* do not *affect* the worthy Partakers, even in the holy *Communion*. So, the *Patriarchs* making very closs Leagues with Neighbouring Kings *as Men*; tho they *were*, also, *Heathens*: Or *Protestant Princes* joyning with *Popish* Ambassadors, in a decisive *Congress*: Yea *Genev's* defensive and offensive Allyance with adjacent *Bishops*; Or the *Dutch's*, with *Munster* as *Elector* of the *Empire*: Or the *Evangelick Cantons*; Or those of the *Confession* in *Germany*; uniting in *Dyets* with *Roman Catholicks*, *&c.* does not acknowledge them, tho called by *Religionary Names*; either in their *Doctrines* or *Hierarchy*: But solely, under the Reduplication of *secular Powers*; which is all that *id quod agitur* (as both Divines and Lawyers speak) does require.

It is in vain to oppone: that an Incorporating Union; by which, we being Free, become *Subject*; tho we be bound to maintain the *Priviledges of our own* Parliament

liament: is *more* than any of these Coalitions. For, the *Method* is the same (a Treaty, by co-ordinate Authorities) the *Ends*, parallel (mutual Security and Improvements) and the *Effect* alike: For, as *Grotius* observes, a *Delinquent* or *Obligant*, in the State of Nature, does, *ipso facto*, *subject himself*, *qua inferiour*, to his Creditor therein, as to Exaction. And the Difference of *less* and *more*, varies not the *kind*. Yea, the Unions in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, are of the *Sovereignty*: and, no doubt, on Restitution of the Edict of *Nants*; the *Hugonots* (tho, while Refugees, they're liberat from their former Alledgeance; being subject to one that's Incompatible) might, with good Conscience, joyn in *Les Assembles des Estates*, with the very *French* Prelates. Nay, the Obligation to maintain the *Priviledges* of our Parliament, does, directly, bind us to owne; both, *its Power* of entring into an Union; and the Parliament of *Britain* arising thereby; as being, then, *that of Scotland*. Just as Oaths, to a King and *his Heirs*, tyes to such of the Royal Family, that shall be set up, tho not in the direct Line; *conform to the Constitution*: and a *Judge*, Swearing to observe *the Laws*; obliges himself to these that *come in place*, of those, *then*, in being.

But if after all, *the fear of Man where no fear is*, continue *it's Snare*; by carrying any against *Authority*, or to despise his own and Nations *Mercy*, *Or not to trust in the* Lord *by which he might be safe*; but to make of *old* Foes, *new* Allies * Then, still, I wish he may *reflect* a little further on his own *Disease*. For, whatever *Straits* he may imagine, it appears to be, *his Strength*, *not to fear*; *but to sit still*, *and see the Salvation of the* Lord. Praying, *that which I see not*, *teach thou me* ------ and not add *Rebellion to his Sin*: lest it be found against God. Especially, he ought to search deep into the Plagues of his *own Heart*; The secret *Springs* of his unexamined *Impulses*: whether they arise; from the *Wrath of Man*, that *worketh not the Righteousness of God*? Or, from a *desire of Dominion*? That may be *Carnal*, even under a *Spiritual Mask*: Which Debordment is *worse* than civil *Places* in Church-men, where that's established by *external Law*; as Tyranny *sine titulo* is more odious than an arbitrary King. Or, from the foolish *partiality* of preferring a *Shaddow* to the substance of Things? An unaccountable *Hope*, or rather *Dream*; to a solid Enjoyment, *&c.* And he may come at length to *see Gods Name*.

But, if by a final Stroak, some *practical Popes*, go on in their Extravagances: As all the Disasters occasioned thereby will fall to their own personal Share; So, *tho they cry*, *yet*, *surely*, *God will not hear vanity*; *because of the* Pride *of evil* Men *. *And the* Ægyptians *shall elp in vain* ------ *a thousand shall fly at the Rebuke of one*----- *till you be left as the Beacon on the top of a Mountain* *. And notwithstanding that the Fate of the *Jewish Zealots*, mortal *Enemies* to one another, tho *Confederat* against transacting with the benign victorious *Romans*; may fall upon *such*: Yet, I doubt not, the *National Constitution* shall stand, the Body of our *Church* and State, being free of the *Infatuation*: as is observed before.

* *Prov* 29. 25. *Psal.* 53. 5. *Isai.* 30. 7, 17. *Exod.* 14. 13. *Job* 34. 32, 37.
* *Job* 35. 12, 13. * *Isai.* 30. 7, 17.

Having

Having so far sufficiently wearied you with a long Letter; I shall not add the trouble of applying the *Foundation-Principles*, advanced above, to every *particular Objection* of lesser moment. Knowing too well your own sufficiency, that I should attempt further on your patience, in descending to what is *mean*, or needs only a *right State* of the Question for unfolding it. And therefore, I, am, as becometh,

Sir

Your's, &c.

FINIS